

## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Washington, DC 20463

JUL 17 2012

Mr. Victor M. Arango, Registered Agent Veritas Research, LLC 215 Ash St. Denver, CO 80220

Mr. Michael Corwin 1809 Moon NE St., Suite 9 Albuquerque, NM 87112

**RE:** MUR 6414

Veritas Research, LLC

Dear Mr. Arango:

On November 4, 2010, the Federal Election Commission ("Commission") notified Veritas Research, LLC ("Veritas"), of a complaint alleging violations of certain sections of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"). Subsequently, in a letter dated November 10, 2011, the Commission provided Veritas with an opportunity to respond to information suggesting that it may have provided to the Russ Carnahan in Congress Committee (the "Committee") investigative and research services without charge or at a discounted rate, resulting in a possible excessive or prohibited contribution. On July 10, 2012, the Commission found, on the basis of the information in the complaint, and information provided by Veritas and others, that there is no reason to believe Veritas violated the Act with respect to TheRealEdMartin.com website. The Commission also dismissed this matter as to Veritas with regard to any potential violations of 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a)(1)(A) or 441b in connection with the services provided to the Committee. See Heckler v. Chaney, 470 U.S. 821 (1985). Accordingly, the Commission closed its file in this matter.

Documents related to the case will be placed on the public record within 30 days. See Statement of Policy Regarding Disclosure of Closed Enforcement and Related Files, 68 Fed. Reg. 70,426 (Dec. 18, 2003) and Statement of Policy Regarding Placing First General Counsel's Reports on the Public Record, 74 Fed. Reg. 66132 (Dec. 14, 2009). The Factual and Legal Analysis, which explains the Commission's findings, is enclosed for your information.

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If you have any questions, please contact Dawn M. Odrowski, the attorney assigned to this matter at (202) 694-1650.

Sincerely,

Roy Q. Luckett

Acting Assistant General Counsel

Enclosure

Factual and Legal Analysis

1	FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
2	FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS
3 4 5	RESPONDENT: Veritas Research, LLC MUR: 6414
6 7 8 9	I. GENERATION OF MATTER  This matter was generated by a complaint filed with the Federal Election
10	Commission by Edward R. Martin, Jr., on behalf of Ed Martin for Congress Committee.
11	See 2 U.S.C. § 437g(a)(1).
12	II. <u>INTRODUCTION</u>
13	This matter involves alleged coordination between Russ Carnahan and Russ Carnahan
14	in Congress Committee ("the Committee") and Veritas Research, LLC ("Veritas"), Michael
15	Corwin, and Jeannine Dillon, in the creation and publication of a website attacking Ed
16	Martin, Representative Carnahan's opponent in the 2010 general election in Missouri's 3rd
17	Congressional District. The website focuses on the results of a three-month investigation by
18	Corwin and Dillon, and it purports to document Martin's role as an employee in the St. Louis
19	Archdiocese in 1998-2001 as it responded to allegations of clergy sexual abuse. Corwin and
20	Dillon are prominently featured as the creators of the website, and notices on the site state
21	that they are solely responsible for its content. Complainant Ed Martin asserts that the
22	website, TheRealEdMartin.com, constituted an improperly disclosed coordinated
23	communication and should have included a disclaimer stating that it was paid for and
24	authorized by the Committee. The complaint bases its allegations on the Committee's
25	reported payments for media-related consulting and research to Veritas, a limited liability

company formed by Dillon, and the proximity in time of one of the payments to the date the

- 1 website domain name was registered. The complainant concludes from these facts that the
- 2 Committee fully or partially paid for the website.
- 3 Upon review of the complaint, responses, and available information, it does not
- 4 appear that the website satisfies the content standard of the Commission's coordinated
- 5 communication regulations. Therefore, the Commission has determined to find no reason to
- 6 believe that Veritas violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the
- Act"), with respect to the coordinated communication allegation involving the
- 8 TheRealEdMartin.com website.
- The Joint Response of Corwin, Dillon, and Veritas ("Joint Response"), however,
- indicated that Veritas, through Corwin, provided some investigative services to the
- 11 Committee without charge, did not charge the Committee for media consulting and some
- 12 discrete research, and charged the Committee a discounted price for fieldwork. See Joint
- 13 Response, Ex. C, G, and H. These facts raised the possibility that the Veritas may have made
- 14 either an excessive or prohibited contribution in the form of services provided at no charge or
- 15 at less than the usual and normal charge, depending on the value of the services and Veritas's
- 16 treatment under tax law. Because these issues were not raised in the complaint, the
- 17 Commission notified the Committee and Veritas of these potential violations to provide them
- 18 with an opportunity to respond. The Committee and Corwin, who worked as a subcontractor
- 19 to Veritas through his own firm, filed supplemental responses. See Committee Suppl. Resp.
- 20 and Corwin Suppl. Resp.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Corwin, Dillon, and Victor Arango, Dillon's husband and the registered agent of Veritas, jointly submitted a sworn response to the complaint.

I	Based on the supplemental responses and in light of the small amounts potentially in
2	violation, the Commission has determined to exercise its prosecutorial discretion and dismiss
3	this matter as to Veritas regarding any potential violations of 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a)(1)(A) or
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4 441b for making excessive or prohibited in-kind contributions in the form of services

5 provided at no charge or at a discount.

## II. FACTUAL AND LEGAL ANALYSIS

## A. Factual Background

In or around April 2010, the Committee hired a media firm that subcontracted with Corwin, a New Mexico private investigator with extensive experience working in political campaigns, to conduct opposition research on Martin. The firm paid Corwin's firm, Corwin Research & Investigations, LLC ("CRP") a \$2,500 retainer for that research. Joint Response at 3, Ex. E. Subsequently, the Committee hired Veritas, a newly formed company, to develop information on Ed Martin's record, "including his past employment, with an eye toward use in future media communications." Committee Response at 2. Veritas, a Colorado limited liability company, was formed on July 23, 2010 by Corwin's former colleague, Jeannine Dillon, a former television investigative news praducer. Colorado Secretary of State records; Corwin Suppl. Resp. at 2. Corwin apparently introduced her to the Committee. See Joint Response at Ex. G. According to Corwin, Dillon operated Veritas as a sole proprietorship. Corwin Suppl. Resp. at 1-2. Working together through Veritas, Corwin and Dillon conducted the research and investigative work as authorized by the Committee.

1 Veritas's work for the Committee entailed two research trips to St. Louis that, 2 according to Veritas's invoices, consisted of general and document research, fieldwork, interviews, pre-production research, and pre-production fieldwork by Corwin and Dillon. 3 4 See Joint Response, Exs. A, B, C, and D. Dillon emailed the Committee an invoice in advance of the first trip, from August 12-15, 2010, reflecting a charge for a \$4,500 5 6 retainer to be paid before the services began and generally describing the services to be 7 performed inclusive of travel expenses. Id., Ex. A. More than two weeks after the 8 second trip, from September 4-5, 2010, Dillon emailed the Committee another invoice. 9 Id., Ex. C. This second invoice contained a similar description of the services to be 10 performed inclusive of all research and travel expenses, and it also contained an itemized breakdown for work billed at an hourly rate, a discounted flat rate for field work, source 11 12 fees, and itemized travel expenses, all totaling \$1,955. Id. This second invoice also itemized services provided at "no charge," including updating a memo, discrete 13 narrowly-focused research topics, and media consulting (emphasis added). Id. The 14 15 Committee's reports to the Commission reflect payments of these invoices on August 2 16 and September 27, 2010, respectively. 17 In the course of providing services to the Committee, disagreeneants emerged over the 18 development and presentation of Veritas's research and "the scope of future work." Committee Response at 2; Joint Response at 4; Committee Suppl. Resp. at 2. The 19 Committee states that Veritas wanted to produce "a journalistic exposé" on Martin's role in 20 21 the St. Louis Archdiocese's response to allegations of clergy sexual abuse of children, but the 22 exposé was out of step with the Committee's political interests. Committee Response at 2.

The Committee apparently believed Veritas's approach would alienate Catholic voters. See

- 1 Joint Response at 4, Exs. F and G. Veritas, for its part, viewed the information it had
- 2 gathered as a matter of grave public interest, characterizing it as Martin's silence in the face
- 3 of alleged child sexual abuse. Joint Response at 4.
  - After increasingly heated discussions about the issue, including a mid-September email exchange in which Corwin unsuccessfully argued that a recent comment by the Pope about the Church's response to clergy-child abuse inoculated the Committee against charges of anti-Catholic bias, Veritas terminated its working relationship with the Committee. *Id.* at 4, Ex. F; see Committee Suppl. Resp. at 2. In an October 4, 2010, termination email from Corwin to Committee campaign manager Angela Barranco, Corwin maintained that Barranco had objected to releasing a video addressing the Martin-clergy abuse issue on You Tube.<sup>2</sup>

    Joint Response, Exs. G and H. Corwin also said that he "donated huge amounts of time to an investigation" of the issue (emphasis added). *Id.* He advised Barranco that he, Corwin, had consulted with his own compliance lawyers and made clear that he viewed work conducted on the issue as belonging variously to him ("the research is all mine") and to him and Dillon ("[we] can take our work"); that they intended to take the work and use it in some way; and that they would use it with "clear disclosure that the work is ours and not approved by a campaign, candidate or committee." *Id.* Corwin also advised Barranco that Dillon would

continue working with him and would not do production-related work for the Committee. Id.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Corwin's October 4, 2010, email does not expressly state that the You Tube video launch and the investigation he referred to concerned the Martin-clergy abuse issue, but the Joint Response makes clear that it was. See e.g., Joint Response at 3-5 ("Because of the exceptionally difficult nature of the subject of the investigation, pedophile priests and child molestation, a rift developed ..."; "... Barranco ... grew increasingly reluctant to use the information regarding Martin's role on the Curia and the pedophile priest scandal"; "[r]ealizing there was no way that Barranco would approve using the information, a decision was made ... to break away from the campaign"; and "... Corwin and Dillon decided to proceed on their own, at their own expense with the Real EdMartin.com website and video") (emphasis added).

1 Barranco responded by email to both Corwin and Dillon on October 6, 2010. Joint 2 Response, Ex. H. Barranco expressed disappointment but not surprise "as it has been clear to 3 me for some time that you were interested in a different direction for the project than we [the 4 Committee] were." Id. She also disclaimed responsibility for Corwin and Dillon's future actions involving the issue, stating: "[f]rom this point forward Carnahan in Congress has 5 nothing to do with this matter, and we wish to have no future involvement in it. We also 6 7 understand that we have no further debts to you, as per your final invoice." Id. The 8 following day, according to the Committee's amended 2010 Pre-General Report, the Committee made a third payment to Veritas for "research" in the amount of \$1,188.99.3 9 10 Veritas asserts that it delayed terminating its work relationship with the Committee until it had invoiced and received payment for the work done on the second St. Louis trip and 11 12 says it consulted with two attorneys before it severed the relationship. Joint Response at 4. 13 On September 29, 2010, two days after the Committee paid the second invoice, Corwin purchased the domain name, "The Real Ed Martin.com," for \$12, and he subsequently 14 purchased a year of webhosting at a total cost of \$56. Complaint, Attachment J; Joint 15 Response at 5. TheRealEdMartin.com website launched on or about October 19, 2010. See 16 Jo Mannies, Democratic Researcher Offers More Details on Creation of Anti-Martin 17 Website, St. Louis Beacon, October 27, 2010 ("Mannies, Democratic Researcher"). 18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>The Committee had originally reported this October 7, 2010 payment in its 2010 Pre-General Report as made to "VR Research" on 18<sup>th</sup> Street in Washington, DC. There is a company called "VR Research" with offices on 18<sup>th</sup> Street and in Oakland, California. The Committee apparently did employ "VR Research" as reflected by a November 4, 2010, payment to the Oakland office of the company disclosed in the Committee's 2010 Post-General Report. None of the responses shed any light on this issue.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>The website continues to be available at <a href="http://therealedmartin.com/www.therealedmartin.co

1 The website's home page describes its content as "the result of a three month investigation that links Ed Martin—who is running for Missouri's 3<sup>rd</sup> Congressional 2 3 District—to the quiet movement of pedophile priests within the St. Louis Archdiocese during 4 the years he worked there." The "About Us & The Project" section of the website notes that 5 the investigation reveals important, previously unpublished facts "that raise serious concerns 6 about Candidate Martin's integrity, judgment and ability to serve the public as a United 7 States Congressman." A video prominently posted on the website features interviews of an 8 alleged clergy abuse victim, his mother, and a former Archdiocese employee. Corwin and 9 Dillon also uploaded the video to YouTube. Joint Response at 1. Other content on the 10 website includes an extensive narrative of Martin's role as a member of the Archdiocese 11 Curia (a governing board) and director of its Human Rights Office, the Archdiocese's 12 handling of child sexual abuse allegations, details of the lawsuit filed by the family of the 13 alleged victim against the Archdiocese, and other relevant information. 14 Donating their time and services, Corwin prepared the website's written content, 15 Dillon prepared the video, and Arango designed and created the website – all without 16 compensation. Joint Response at 5. Statements throughout the website reud, in pertinent 17 part, that the website complies with FEC Regulations 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.26, 100.155 and 18 100.94, that the information within it has not been "paid for, endorsed, or approved by any . . 19 . candidate or campaign," and that Corwin and Dillon are solely responsible for its content. 20 Committee Response at 2; Joint Response at 5. The Committee issued a press statement 21 denying its "knowledge, encouragement or authorization" of the website. See Mannies,

- 1 Democratic Researcher, supra; see also Jake Wagman, Carnahan Campaign Blames Anti-
- 2 Martin Website on Rogue Researchers, St. Louis Times Dispatch, October 27, 2010.5
- 3 B. Legal Analysis
- 4 1. Coordinated In-Kind Contribution with Respect to the Website
- 5 Under the Act, no person may make a contribution, including an in-kind
- 6 contribution, to a candidate and the candidate's authorized political committee with
- 7 respect to any election for Federal office that, in the aggregate, exceeds \$2,400. 2 U.S.C.
- 8 § 441a(a)(1)(A) (2010 election cycle); see 2 U.S.C. § 431(8)(A)(i); 11 C.F.R.
- 9 § 100.52(d)(1) (defining "contribution" as including in-kind contributions). Corporations
- are prohibited from making any contributions in connection with a federal election.
- 11 2 U.S.C. § 441b. The Act defines in-kind contributions as, inter alia, expenditures by
- any person "in cooperation, consultation, or concert, with, or at the request or suggestion
- of, a candidate, his authorized political committees, or their agents . . . . " 2 U.S.C.
- 14 § 441a(a)(7)(B)(i). No candidate or political committee may knowingly accept a
- 15 contribution in violation of the Act. 2 U.S.C. § 441a(f). A political committee must
- disclose all contributions it receives, including in-kind contributions. 2 U.S.C. § 434(b);
- 17 11 C.F.R. §§ 104.3(a), 104.13(a)(1).
- 18 Under Commission regulations, a communication is coordinated with a candidate, an
- 19 authorized committee, a political party committee, or agent thereof if it meets a three-
- 20 pronged test: (1) it is paid for, in whole or part, by a third party (a person other than the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>The Committee initially misreported in its 2010 October Quarterly Report the first two payments to Veritas by listing an incorrect address for Veritas in Tucson, Arizona, rather than in Colorado. The Committee amended its reports after a blog traced the misreported Tucson address to a research program at the University of Arizona called the "Veritas Research Program." See 24thstate.com, The Two Suspect Payments in the Carnahan Catholic Attack, Oct. 25, 2010.

candidate, authorized committee or political committee); (2) if at the time of the events at 1 issue, it satisfied one of four "content" standards; and (3) it satisfies one of six "conduct" 2 standards. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21. Three of the four content standards pertinent to this 3 matter require that a communication be a "public communication" to be considered 4 coordinated. Fee 11 C.F.R. §§ 109.21(c)(2) (a public communication that republishes 5 6 campaign muterials); 109.21(c)(3) (a public communication that expressly advocates the 7 election or defeat of a Federal candidate); and 109.21(c)(4) (a public communication that 8 references a clearly identified candidate and is publicly distributed in the candidate's 9 jurisdiction 90 days or fewer before an election). The term "public communication" 10 encompasses certain types of general public political advertising such as broadcasting, 11 newspaper, and mass mailings, including communications over the Internet placed for a fee 12 on another person's website. 11 C.F.R. § 100.26; see also 2 U.S.C. § 431(22). 13 Additionally, the Act and Commission regulations require all public communications 14 made by a political committee and political committee websites to include a disclaimer 15 stating that the committee paid for the communication. 2 U.S.C. § 441d; 11 C.F.R. 16 § 110.11(a). Communications raid for by other persons require disclaimers only if they 17 constitute electioneering communications or public communications that expressly advocate. 18 the election or defeat of a clearly identified Federal candidate or solicit contributions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup>The Commission promulgated a fifth content standard to comply with a court decision in *Shays v. FEC*, 528 F.3d 914 (D.C. Cir. 2008). That standard, which encompasses public communications that are the functional equivalent of express advocacy, is not applicable in this matter because it did not become effective until December 1, 2010. *See* Explanation and Justification, *Coordinated Communications*, 75 Fed. Reg. 55,947 (Sept. 15, 2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>The fourth content standard, electioneering communications, encompasses only broadcast, cable, and satellite communications and is not relevant here. See 11 C.F.R. § 100.29(c)(1); 2 U.S.C. § 434(f)(3)(A).

- 1 11 C.F.R. §§ 110.11(a)(2), (3), and (4); 2 U.S.C. § 441d. Such disclaimers must identify the
  2 person who paid for the communication and state whether or not they are authorized by a
  3 candidate or a candidate's authorized committee or agent. 11 C.F.R. §§ 110.11(b)(2) and (3).
  4 The complaint maintains that the website constituted an improperly disclosed
  5 coordinated communication between the Committee and Representative Carnahan and
- coordinated communication between the Committee and Representative Carnahan and
  Veritas, Corwin, and Dillon. See Complaint at 1, 4. It also alleges that the website failed
  to include a disclaimer noting that the Committee paid for and authorized the site. Id. at
  2-3, 5.
- The complaint alleges that the Committee's payments to Veritas wholly or partially financed the website. The complaint specifically alleges that the website satisfies the coordinated communications content standard at 11 C.F.R.

  § 109.21(c)(4) because it clearly identified Ed Martin as a candidate and was public
- 12 § 109.21(c)(4) because it clearly identified Ed Martin as a candidate and was publicly 13 distributed in Martin's congressional district 90 days or fewer before the November 2, 2010, election, as it was widely available on the Internet as of October 18, 2010. Id. at 3-14 4. The complaint also asserts that the website satisfies either the "substantial discussion" 15 16 or "former employee/independent contractor" standards of the conduct prong at 11 C.F.R. 17 §§ 109.21(d)(1) and (5), respectively, and relies on the same central facts for both 18 allegations: that Corwin, Dillon, and/or Veritas created and produced the website after 19 substantial discussion with, or based on the Committee's plans and needs as conveyed by, 20
- substantial discussion with, or based on the Committee's plans and needs as conveyed by
  the Committee, Carnahan, or their agents, because (1) the Committee made payments to
  Veritas; (2) Corwin and Dillon are associated with Veritas; and (3) Corwin and Dillon,
  the website creators, registered the website's domain name just two days after the

Committee's last apparent payment to Veritas and launched it just before the general

1 election to help Carnahan by attacking Martin. Id. at 3-4. Finally, the complaint posits 2 that the payment prong is satisfied because the Committee "fully or partially" paid for the 3 website, citing the August and September payments to Veritas totaling \$6,495. Id. 4 The Joint Response and Representative Carnahan's response, which the 5 Committee has adopted, maintain that the website fails to constitute a coordinated communication, noting that the content prong has not been met because only Internet 6 7 communications placed for a fee on another's website are considered "public 8 communications." Committee Response at 3; Joint Response at 1-2. The Committee 9 states that it believes Corwin and Dillon developed and published the website after 10 Veritas ended its relationship with the Committee. Committee Response at 2. Although 11 the Committee acknowledges the possibility that the website "may have drawn on 12 research" Corwin and Dillon conducted while working for the Committee, it denies that 13 Carnahan or the Committee authorized the website or had control over its content or the 14 circumstances of its publication. Id. 15 The Joint Response instead asserts that Corwin and Dillon proceeded independently 16 with the website at their own expense following their disagreement with and break with the 17 Committee. Joint Response at 4-5. They explicitly deny that the Committee compensated 18 Veritas or the individuals associated with creating the website for any work relating to the 19 website. Id. at 3. The Joint Response specifically explains that Corwin prepared the 20 website's written content, Dillon prepared the video, and Arango designed and created the 21 website through the voluntary donation of their time and services. Id. at 5. Although the 22 Joint Response acknowledges they were paid for work conducted for the Committee, the 23 Joint Response asserts that Veritas was paid for "other actions unrelated to Internet activity,"

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- 1 and that there was no legal bar that precluded Veritas and its related individuals from
- 2 creating the website. *Id.* at 2. Finally, the Joint Response states that they had no discussions
- 3 with Barranco about publishing a website to release information about the Martin-clergy
- 4 abuse issue, that neither Barranco nor the Committee ultimately approved a video, that the
- 5 Committee did not endorse or authorize the website or the video, and that neither the website
- 6 nor the video was ever presented to the Committee. *Id.* at 4 and 5.

It does not appear that there is reason to believe that the respondents engaged in unlawful coordination under the Act and Commission regulations. While the payment prong of the coordinated communication test, 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a)(1), is satisfied because Dillon and Corwin are a third-party payor, the content standard is not satisfied because the website does not appear to constitute a public communication. Although it appears that the Committee may have paid Veritas, at least in part, to gather some of the information ultimately displayed on the website, on the facts presented here, such payments do not amount to the Committee having placed an Internet communication on another's website for a fee. Furthermore, the Joint Response makes clear that the individuals responsible for the website were not compensated for their work in hosting, designing or creating the website or its written content.

Moreover, the September and October emails between the Committee and individuals associated with Veritas present a compelling case that the Committee did not, in fact, engage in coordinated conduct. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.21(a)(3), (d). Those contemporaneous

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>That same analysis would apply to the placement of the website vidao on YouTube since one does not pay a fee to place items on YouTube.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> An individual or group of individuals' uncompensated personal services related to Internet activities, like creating, maintaining or hosting a website, is not a contribution under the Act. 11 C.F.R. § 100.94.

1 exchanges demonstrate that the Committee did not want to rely on the Martin-clergy abuse 2 allegations because it believed that such an attack would backfire by alienating Catholic 3 voters. Joint Response, Exs. F, G and H. Rather, the preponderance of the available facts -4 including those emails - shows that Corwin and Dillon crafted and developed the narrative 5 and prepared the video content on the website because they wanted to communicate their 6 view of the issue to a mass audience notwithstanding that the Committee declined to do so. 7 Id. Corwin's October 4 resignation email, id., Ex. G, further amplified by the discussion in 8 the Joint Response, indicates that a video concerning the Martin-clergy abuse issue was 9 discussed with the Committee. But the Joint Response specifically states that no discussion 10 took place with Barranco about setting up a website to release the information, and no one 11 from the Committee was shown or approved the website content or video. Joint Response at 4.10 12 13 Therefore, Veritas, Corwin and Dillon did not make a coordinated in-kind 14 contribution to the Committee. Additionally, as noted, because the website does not 15 constitute a "public communication" or an electioneering communication, none of the 16 Respondents was required to post a disclaimer on it. Accordingly, the Commission has 17 determined that there is no reason to believe that Veritas violated the Act with regard to 18 TheRealEdMartin.com website.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Once the website went live, the campaign called upon Martin to address the issue raised by the website. See Jo Mannies, Democratic Researcher, supra; see also Jack Wagman, Martin Files Complaint over Website Done by Researchers Who Worked for Carnahan, St. Louis Post Dispatch, Oct. 29, 2010. Nonetheless, that action does not support a conclusion that there is reason to believe the Respondents engaged in unlawful coordination. First, the activity does not constitute actionable "coordination" standing alone, and no other evidence suggests that the parties in fact secretly coordinated here. And most importantly, not only do the Respondents deny coordination, thair contemporaneous internal email traffic from the time in question refutes any inference that they did.

1 2 3	2. <u>In-Kind Contribution in the Form of Investigative/Opposition Research</u> Services Provided at No Charge or at a Discount
4	The services listed as provided at a discount or at "no charge" in Veritas's second
5	invoice and Corwin's statement that he donated "huge amounts of time" to the
6	investigation raise concerns that Veritas may have made a prohibited contribution,
7	depending on Veritas's tax status, or an excessive contribution. See Joint Response, Exs.
8	C, G, and H. Unless specifically exempted, the provision of goods or services without
9	charge or at a charge which is less than the usual and normal charge for goods and
10	services is a contribution. 11 C.F.R. § 100.52(d)(1). The usual and normal charge for
11	any services, other than those provided by an unpaid volunteer, is determined by
12	reference to the hourly or piecework charge for the services at the commercially
13	reasonable rate prevailing at the time the services were rendered. 11 C.F.R.
14	§ 100.52(d)(2). A committee's receipt from a vendor of a complimentary item or the
15	purchase of goods or service at a discount does not result in a contribution if the
16	discounted goods or services or the complimentary item are made available in the
17	ordinary course of business and on the same terms and conditions offered to a vendor's
18	other customers that are not political committees. See MUR 5942 (Rudolph Giuliani
19	Presidential Committee); Advisory Opinion 1994-10.
20	Both the Committee and Corwin maintain in their supplemental responses that no in-
21	kind contribution resulted from Veritas's discounted or "no charge" services. Veritas did not
22	file a response, and appears to be inactive, as it is considered "delinquent" under Colorado
23	law for failing to file a periodic report that was due on September 30, 2011. And, in any
24	event, Corwin states that he provided virtually all of the services at issue as a subcontractor

- 1 to Veritas, and he provides information about those services as well as the uncharged
- 2 services Dillon provided under Veritas's aegis. 11
- The Committee asserts that it paid the usual and normal charge for Veritas's services
- 4 because it understood Veritas would bill it on a flat-rate, per-project basis rather than at an
- 5 hourly rate, a common arrangement with research consultants. Committee Suppl. Resp. at 1,
- 6 3. According to the Committee, the second invoice reflects this arrangement in its statement
- 7 that the "[f]ee includes all research services and all travel-related expenses for twe-person
- 8 team." Id. at 2; see Joint Response at Ex. C. As further support that the full fee was paid, it
- 9 also points to Barranco's statement in the October 6, 2010, email that the Committee
- 10 understood it owed nothing further for Veritas's work and the absence of a demand for
- payment in Corwin's October 4th email, sent after he consulted with his own compliance
- 12 lawyers. Committee Suppl. Resp. at 2-3. As for the invoice's itemized list of services
- provided at no charge or at a discount and Corwin's email reference to donated time, the
- 14 Committee simply states it "cannot speak" to what led Veritas to identify discounts on the
- 15 invoice or to Corwin's statement, and it has no information that Veritas provided it with any
- special accommodation not extended to other customers. Id. at 3.
- 17 Corwin makes no mention of a flat-rate arrangement in his sworn supplemental
- 18 response. Instead, he states that he helped Dillon prepare Veritas's invoice as the more
- 19 experienced investigator based on his own customary business practice and that the \$85 per
- 20 hour rate was the same rate CRI charged all of its clients. Corwin Supp. Resp. at 2, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>In the email forwarding his response, Corwin indicates he had been in touch with Dillon who had not decided whether to respond.

1 Presumably, Corwin used CRI's rate because Veritas, a two-month old company operated by

2 Dillon, a full time graduate student at the time, had no ongoing business practice.

Corwin essentially makes two arguments: (1) that donated, discounted and "no charge" services were provided in the ordinary course of business and on the same term and conditions as provided to non-political clients, and (2) presumably in the alternative, that even if the uncompensated and discounted services were in-kind contributions, their total value was less than the \$2,400 contribution limit in 2010 so Veritas, which Corwin represents was a "single member" LLC "treated as a sole proprietorship," made no excessive or prohibited contribution. *Id.* at 1-2. Corwin does not specifically state that Veritas was treated as a sole proprietorship "by the IRS," a phrase he expressly uses to describe his own firm, CRI. *Id.* An LLC 's tax treatment governs whether any contributions made by it are treated as a corporate contribution, or in the case of a single natural member LLC, as a contribution by the member. *See* 11 C.F.R. §§ 110.1(g)(3) and (4).

In support of his "ordinary course of business" argument, Corwin provided numerous redacted invoices and a few emails related to CRI's main business, investigating cases for civil plaintiff and criminal defense counsel, to show that he sometimes waived his own compensation or provided some services connected with investigations at no charge to non-political clients. *Id.* at 2-4 and attachments. For the most part, the invoices show Corwin customarily issued itemized invoices billing these clients at an \$85 hourly rate plus travel and expenses but did not charge for certain isolated items such as initial client meetings, mileage related to particular trips, and email updates. Several of the invoices reflect flat-rates for preemployment background research and witness location information.

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1 Importantly, Corwin also provided information about the nature and value of the 2 invoiced "no charge" services and the "huge amounts" of donated time Corwin refers to in the October 4<sup>th</sup> email. Based on that information, it appears that the total value of those 3 4 services was \$3,743. This figure can be broken down into three sets of services: (1) services 5 directed at gathering and presenting information aimed at convincing the Committee to 6 pursue the Martin-clergy abuse issue, totaling \$2,040; (2) discounted field work valued at 7 \$1,580; and (3) updated research and a background check, apparently unrelated to the second 8 St. Louis trip valued at \$123. 9 The first set of services, efforts Corwin and Dillon undertook to persuade the 10 Committee to raise the Martin-clergy abuse issue in the campaign, accounts for more than 11 half of the \$3,743 total amount. A significant portion of Veritas's invoiced "no charge" 12 services are attributable to these efforts - items described as "Prep Time Line/Updated Memo/7 hrs @ \$85" and "Media Consulting." The time line/updated memo item refers to 13 14 time Corwin spent immediately following the second St. Louis trip updating a prior opposition memo in the hope that the additional information would convince the Committee 15 16 to use the Martin-clergy abuse issue (\$595). Id. at 4-5. The media consulting item involved two hours (\$170) spent by Dillon educating the campaign about using "the power of video" 17 18 to raise the issue. Id. at 5-6. Corwin maintains that Varitas chose not to charge for these 19 services because it was unable to convince the Committee to use the issue. Id. Veritas's efforts to persuade the Committee to go forward with making the Martin-20 clergy abuse issue public also include Corwin's email reference to "huge amounts" of 21 22 donated time. Corwin says he was referring in the email to the seven hours he spent updating 23 an opposition memo (the "Prep Time Line/Updated Memo" item) and about 15 hours he

- spent searching for news articles about Martin's involvement in the Archdiocese. *Id.* at 6.
- 2 Corwin explained that his characterization of the amount of time donated to the investigation
- 3 represented a "deep feeling of frustration" with the campaign for not "exposing Martin's
- 4 inaction in the face of real harm" to children. Id. Corwin says he did not charge the
- 5 Committee for the 15 hours (\$1,275) he spent searching for news articles because the
- 6 Committee did not approve the work in advance. Id. The \$2,040 total value of these services
- 7 is based on Corwin's use of his \$85 per bour customary rate, including the services Dillon
- 8 provided. Id. at 5-7.

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Corwin does not address the second set of services: the discounted field work reflected in the invoice. None of the CRI invoices he provided indicates that CRI customarily offered discounted rates for fieldwork, and we have no information from Veritas to explain the discount. The value of the discount appears to be \$1,580. This figure was calculated by subtracting the \$800 discounted fee Veritas charged and the Committee paid from \$2,380, the non-discounted price for fieldwork performed by a two person team for two days (2 people x 14 hours [two 7-hour days] x \$85/hour = \$2,380; \$2,380 - \$800 = \$1,580).

The third set of services involves updated research antl a background check, the remaining "no charge" invoiced services totaling \$123. Those services consisted of 15 minutes Corwin spent updating a prior search on Amgen, a funder of stem cell research in which Martin's family apparently owned stock (\$21 [rounded] based on an \$85 hourly rate) and a second pre-employment background check on a campaign canvasser suspected of arson at campaign headquarters to determine whether a prior vendor had missed anything in its background check (\$102 [rounded], equivalent to the rate charged for background checks in CRI invoices Corwin provided). *Id.* at 5.

1 Of the \$3,743 in services Veritas provided at no charge or at a discount, the \$2,040 in 2 services reflecting Veritas's unsuccessful efforts to convince the Committee to pursue the 3 Martin-clergy abuse issue and representing time spent researching the matter that the 4 Committee did not approve of in advance, does not appear to constitute an in-kind 5 contribution. Accordingly, it appears that at most, Veritas may have made an in-kind or 6 prohibited contribution totaling \$1,703 (\$3,743 - \$2,040 = \$1,703). 7 At this point, the Commission lacks sufficient information to attribute a definitive 8 valuation to any in-kind or prohibited contribution resulting from Veritas's unbilled or 9 reduced cost services to the Committee. It is unclear whether the parties had a project-10 based/flat-fee or hourly-fee based arrangement, whether the third payment to Veritas was 11 attributable to the second invoice, and whether or not Veritas elected to be treated as a 12 corporation by the IRS. The available information suggests three possible formulations: 13 (1) that no or at most a \$102 in-kind or prohibited contribution resulted because the parties 14 had a flat-rate/project-based payment arrangement for the second St. Louis trip that the 15 Committee paid in full; (2) assuming that Veritas did not elect tax treatment as a corporation, 16 that an in-kind contribution resulted ranging from \$514 to \$1,703 such that Veritas did not 17 make an excessive contribution; or (3) assuming that Veritas elected to be treated as a corporation by the IRS, that a prohibited contribution resulted ranging from \$514 to \$1,703. 18 19 In any event, the amount at issue appears to be relatively modest and does not appear to 20 warrant further inquiry. 21 First, if the Committee had a project-based, flat rate fee arrangement with Veritas for the second trip, including each of the invoiced items with "no charge," then Veritas did not 22 make a prohibited or in-kind contribution. However, the "no charge" services pertaining to 23

1 the Amgen search and Chris Powers background check, totaling \$123, appear to have been 2 unrelated to the second St. Louis trip, and, if so, may not have been covered by a project-3 based fee resulting in a non-excessive or prohibited in-kind contribution. Since the minimal 4 time spent on the Amgen research appears similar in size and type to the uncharged services 5 Corwin extended to non-political clients as reflected in the CRI invoices he provided, the 6 amount may be closer to \$102 (\$123 - \$21 [Amgen research rate for 15 minutes] = \$102). 7 Second, if Veritas did not elect to be treated as a corporation and the parties had no 8 flat-rate agreement, at most the total value of services provided without charge and at a 9 discount that could be construed as an in-kind contribution was \$1,703. In that case, Veritas 10 did not make an excessive contribution because the contribution limit for 2010 was \$2,400 11 and neither Corwin nor Dillon made contributions to the Committee. That amount may be 12 reduced from \$1,703 to \$514 if the Committee's reported third payment of \$1,188.99 to Veritas was attributable to any of the services listed in the second invoice, a plausible 13 14 scenario given that the available information indicates that Veritas performed no other 15 services for the Committee. See supra at 6 and fn 3. Under either or both of these 16 circumstances, Veritas did not make an excessive in-kind contribution. 17 Finally, if Veritas elected to he treated as a corporation by the IRS, it is conceivable 18 that Veritas may have made an in-kind corporate contribution. The value of any such 19 contribution would most likely range from \$514 to \$1,703, depending on whether the 20 Committee's reported third payment of \$1,188.99 applies. 21 Given the lack of clarity about the fee arrangement between the Committee and Veritas, which directly relates to the value of any prohibited or unreported excessive 22

contribution, the absence of information about the purpose of the third payment to Veritas,

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- 1 and the uncertainty about Veritas's tax status as an LLC, an investigation would be necessary
- 2 to determine whether Respondents violated the Act in connection with the "no charge" and
- 3 discounted services listed in the invoice. In light of the relatively small amount potentially at
- 4 issue, however, an investigation is unwarranted. Accordingly, the Commission has
- 5 determined to exercise its prosecutorial discretion and dismiss this matter as to Veritas
- 6 regarding any potential violations of 2 U.S.C. §§ 441a(a)(1)(A) or 441b by making an
- 7 excessive or prohibited in-kind contributions in the form of services provided at no charge or
- 8 at a discount. See Heckler v. Chaney, 470 U.S. 821, 831 (1985).